

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 16963 01 OF 02 262009Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 NIC-01 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

EB-11 STR-08 OMB-01 COME-00 DRC-01 /169 W

----- 083588

R 261600Z NOV 73 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8890
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 16963

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, GW, CZ, GE, UR

SUBJECT: FRG'S CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES WITH OSTPOLITIK

REF: BONN 16503

1. SUMMARY: FRG FONOFF SOURCES HAVE BRIEFED US ON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 16963 01 OF 02 262009Z

LATEST STATE OF PLAY WITH CZECHS. THEY HAVE ALSO

EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE FRG'S EASTERN POLICY MAY BE IN FOR A PERIOD OF DISTINCT COOLNESS FOR NEXT FEW MONTHS UNLESS THERE IS SOME SIGN OF READINESS FOR REASONABLE RELATIONS ON PART OF CZECHS, GDR AND SOVIETS. OUR SOURCES BELIEVE THE GDR IS ONLY PARTLY TO BLAME FOR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES: THEY CONSIDER THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE PREPARED TO MAINTAIN A TOUGH STANCE ON VARIOUS ISSUES AFFECTING FRG INTERESTS, ESPECIALLY ON BERLIN MATTERS, WITH A VIEW TO BARGAINING ON THESE ISSUES (PERHAPS IN EXCHANGE FOR A MORE FORTHCOMING FRG ATTITUDE ON LONG-TERM, LOW-INTEREST CREDITS) WHEN BRANDT VISITS MOSCOW NEXT YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. FONOFF SOURCES TOLD US THAT A SERIES OF DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES WITH THE CZECHS IN THE LAST TEN DAYS ON THE PROBLEM OF LEGAL ASSISTANCE (REFTEL) HAS BROUGHT NO PROGRESS. THE CZECHS HAD FINALLY PRESENTED A POSITION THAT WAS EVEN LESS THAN THAT AGREED TO BETWEEN SCHEEL AND GROMYKO IN MOSCOW IN EARLY NOVEMBER (MOSCOW 13845). THE FRG FONOFF WAS NOW PROCEEDING WITH WHAT IT CONSIDERED A LAST FALLBACK; NAMELY, A DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM SCHEEL TO CZECH FONMIN CHNOUPEK STATING FRG READINESS TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE SCHEEL-GROMYKO FORMULA (I.E. THE BILATERAL FRG-SOVIET STATEMENT PLUS THE UNILATERAL FRG STATEMENT ON COURT-TO-COURT PROCEDURE AS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION, WITH FRG AND WEST BERLIN COURTS BEING EQUALLY ABLE TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SOVIET AND EE COURTS). OUR SOURCES SAID IF THE CZECHS REJECTED THIS APPROACH THEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE REACHED A COMPLETE IMPASSE. SUCH A STALEMATE WOULD, OF COURSE, ALSO PREVENT ANY MOVEMENT IN THE FRG'S NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY AND BULGARIA SINCE THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE ISSUE IS ALSO THE STUMBLING BLOCK WITH THESE TWO STATES.

3. FONOFF CONTACTS SPECULATED THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE LIKELY GDR ROLE IN ARRANGING FOR THE SOVIETS TO PUSH THIS HARD POSITION UPON THE UNWILLING CZECHS, THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES MAY WELL BE PLAYING A GAME OF THEIR OWN. OUR SOURCES NOTED THAT SOVIET DIPLOMATS IN BONN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 16963 01 OF 02 262009Z

SEEMED NOW TO BE INDICATING THAT REAL PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS COULD ONLY COME WITH DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN BRANDT AND BREZHNEV. THE SPECULATION IN THE FRG FONOFF IS THAT THE SOVIETS, SEEING THAT SCHEEL WAS UNWILLING TO OFFER ANYTHING PROMISING IN THE WAY OF LONG-TERM, LOW-INTEREST CREDITS (BONN 16187), DECIDED TO HOLD OFF MAKING ANY CONCESSIONS IN THE BERLIN CONTEXT UNTIL THEY COULD TRY TO MAKE A BARGAIN WITH BRANDT

IN THE CREDIT AREA.

4. (FYI: IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT BRANDT'S OSTPOLITIK ADVISER, EGON BAHR, HAS BEEN GIVEN THE ADDITIONAL TITLE OF COORDINATOR FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES WITH STATE TRADING SYSZEMS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THIS POSITION ENTAILS, BUT IT MAY INDICATE A READINESS ON THE PART OF THE CHANCELLERY TO BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION FIELD WITH THE USSR AND EES. END FYI.)

5. OUR SOURCES NOTED THAT IF THE SOVIETS ARE INTENT ON MAKING THIS BARGAINING LINKAGE, THEN THERE IS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 16963 02 OF 02 261618Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 NIC-01 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

EB-11 STR-08 OMB-01 COME-00 DRC-01 /169 W

----- 081624

R 261600Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8891

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 16963

PROBABLY LITTLE PROGRESS TO BE EXPECTED IN THE FRG'S
EASTERN POLICY OR IN THE RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING
BERLIN-RELATED PROBLEMS UNTIL THE BRANDT VISIT. OUR
SOURCES TELL US THIS VISIT MAY TAKE PLACE NEXT SPRING,
ALTHOUGH NO DATE HAS YET BEEN FIXED. THEY ALSO TOLD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 16963 02 OF 02 261618Z

US THAT SCHEEL IS PERSONALLY IRRITATED BY THE PLANNED
BRANDT VISIT, ABOUT WHICH HE LEARNED ONLY AS HE TRAVELED
TO MOSCOW IN OCTOBER AND WHICH HE FEELS UNDERCUT THE
VALUE OF HIS OWN TRIP.

6. MEANWHILE, OTHER SOURCES IN BONN, INCLUDING SEVERAL
EE DIPLOMATS, HAVE TOLD US THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN
THE GDR AND OTHER EE STATES THE GREEN LIGHT TO TAKE AS
TOUGH A LINE AS THEY WANT WITH THE FRG IN UPCOMING NEGO-
TIATIONS. THE SOVIETS HAVE REPORTEDLY INFORMED THE
EES THAT THE FRG HAS GAINED AS MUCH AS IT IS GOING TO
IN ITS OSTPOLITIK AND THAT A HARD UNITED STAND IS NOW
CALLED FOR ON THE PART OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES. ASKED
IF THIS ATTITUDE MIGHT NOT SPOIL THE ATMOSPHERE IN CSCE
AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, TWO EE DIPLOMATS (SEPARATELY)
TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE SOVIETS WERE OF THE VIEW THAT THE
US WOULD NOT ALLOW THE FRG TO MAKE DIFFICULTIES IN
VIENNA, AND THE FRG ITSELF DID NOT WANT TROUBLE OVER
GERMAN ISSUES TO ARISE IN GENEVA. MEANWHILE, POLISH
DIPLOMATS HERE ARE MAKING THREATENING NOISES THAT
UNLESS FONMIN OLSZOWSKI'S EARLY DECEMBER VISIT TO BONN
IS SUCCESSFUL, THERE WILL BE NO GIEREK VISIT
NEXT YEAR.

7. AN INFORMED GERMAN JOURNALIST WITH GOOD
CONTACTS IN THE GDR HAS INFORMED US THAT FROM A RECENT
VISIT TO EAST BERLIN HE CAME AWAY WITH THE STRONG
IMPRESSION THAT THE HARDLINERS, ESPECIALLY LAMBERZ, WERE
CLEARLY IN THE ASCENDANCY AND THAT THEY WERE PREPARED
TO PUSH THEIR IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF SEPARATENESS FROM
THE FRG WITH INCREASING HARSHNESS. HE FELT THIS POSI-
TION, WHICH HAD MOSCOW'S GENERAL APPROVAL, OFFERED

LITTLE HOPE FOR ANY MOVEMENT IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS
IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.

8. COMMENT: ALL OF THE SIGNS SEEM TO POINT TOWARD A
COLD WINTER IN TERMS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RELA-
TIONS WITH THE USSR AND ITS EE ALLIES. THE FALTERING OF
THE OSTPOLITIK, TOGETHER WITH DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES IN
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, MOST NOTABLY THE ENERGY SHORTAGE,
WILL PROVIDE THE OPPOSITION WITH SOME VERY HANDY TARGETS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 16963 02 OF 02 261618Z

TO ATTACK.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS INTERRUPTION, AGREEMENT DRAFT, VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN16963
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731114/aaaaakag.tel
Line Count: 240
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BONN 16503
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRG'S CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES WITH OSTPOLITIK
TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, GE, CZ, GC, UR, (SCHEEL, WALTER)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005